

A POETIC PILGRIMAGE
TOWARDS A
COSMOPOLITAN WORLD

A POETIC PILGRIMAGE TOWARDS A COSMOPOLITAN WORLD:

AN EXPLORATION OF DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD'S POLITICAL VISION
AND UNDERSTANDING, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE
FIELD OF SOCIAL SCULPTURE AND ITS VALUE FOR
GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION.

Reflective commentary and book summary
to a practice-based research-dissertation,
submitted by Johann (Hans) Göttel
April 2018

Oxford Brookes University
Faculty of Technology,
Design and Environment /
School of Arts /
Social Sculpture Research Unit



Dag Hammarskjöld (1905-1961) Portrait by Eva Meloun, Vienna
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Part I p. 7-76

An English-language "Reflective Commentary"
to accompany the practice-based research-dissertation,
presented in the form of a book entitled:

„Dag Hammarskjöld für kosmopolitische Passagen“

(Hans Göttel, Eisenstadt, Austria: Verlag Akademie Pannonien, 2016)

Part II p. 79-88

An English-language summary of the book

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Part I

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This reflective commentary accompanies
the 100% practice-based research.
It is submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements of the award of
Doctor of Philosophy.
April 2018

Abstract

The practice-based research-dissertation or “poetic-philosophical praxis” referred to and explored in this Reflective Commentary concerns two major topics: the artistic and intellectual work of the second UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld (1905 – 1961) and the implications of that work for a persuasive new understanding of the cosmopolitan idea. Pursuing these topics, I developed a “poetic-philosophical praxis” intended to reveal the passages toward and contours of the cosmopolitan world in which Hammarskjöld lived and *for which* he lived. Praxis, as I understand it, does not exclude or oppose theory. In the practice-based research-dissertation – in the form of a book entitled *“Dag Hammarskjöld für kosmopolitische Passagen”* – a continuum of theory and practice is embodied through “poetic notes” which trace, follow and elaborate the cosmopolitan thinking of Dag Hammarskjöld. As the book unfolds and the poetic-philosophical praxis advances, there are deliberate disruptions and swerves resulting in estrangements and inter-worlds, polyvalent perspectives, contexts radically reconsidered, shifting views that create new perspectives. Instead of setting out to prove and confirm just one meaning in any given context, this artistic practice values the freedom to deviate in order to reveal what I perceive as “meaningfulness”—less exact and restrictive than “meaning” but potentially more enriching. Both the practice-based research embodied in the book and this reflective commentary attempt to uncover in Hammarskjöld’s diplomatic work and mystical thought, elements of statesmanship that shed light on a seemingly paradoxical approach to global community, an approach that strives to escape politics rather than conceive everything in political terms. Social Sculpture has its place here: some of its key concepts and methods offer a philosophical framework for cosmopolitan thinking.

The notion of pilgrimage is also central to the praxis. As I construe it, pilgrimage relies on landscape, horizon and the stars in the sky. It does not strive for the fixed structures of mapping but rather for “wayfinding”. To support wayfinding, a special source of guidance is introduced: between the chapters of the book, a narrative ass

takes the lead to guide both the researcher-author and the reader. Under the gentle dominion of the ass, the researcher is taken a certain distance from his original pedagogic background. The ass's intuitive sense of direction leads toward Hammarskjöld's idea of world government and away from it again. It leads out into nature and wilderness; to the idea of the "higher human being", rooted in Kierkegaard and the Taoist tradition; to the special example of Marcus Aurelius; and ultimately to the idea of "international community"— the creation of which was a central concern of Hammarskjöld's.

The transformation of *Europahaus Burgenland* into *Akademie Pannonien* reflects the origin and sphere of activity of this PhD research. This place of learning, for which I have served as director since 1990, is now being shaped into "an atelier for cosmopolitan theory, practice and poetry" by bringing together ideas of world citizenship and Hammarskjöld's (anti-)political wisdom. The art of Social Sculpture, rooted in the thought and practice of Joseph Beuys (1921-1986), and developed by Shelley Sacks in the Social Sculpture Research Unit (SSRU) over several decades, is adopted as a creative frame for exploring this material in its wholeness and as an inspiration toward freely rethinking it. The perspective of Social Sculpture allows one to move, like Hammarskjöld himself, between worldly affairs and the mystics of the Middle Ages, between outer tasks and an "inner atelier"¹ which invites "every human being to be an artist."²

This commentary offers theoretical support for the practice-based research dissertation embodied in the book. Just as an artist steps back from a painting to see more than is possible whilst working on it, the finished artistic practice will now meet enquiring eyes. This commentary represents a new involvement with the entire practice-based research process and the book: watching it, elucidating it and interpreting it. And, in doing so, completing it.

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at this or any other institution.

Signature:

Printed name: JOHANN GÖTTEL

Date: April 30th, 2018

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to the open-minded people, who have brought me onto the track of an artistic way of research. The Berlin cultural scientist Hildegard Kurt opened one of the perspectives by introducing me to Shelley Sacks whose atelier in Oxford, the Social Sculpture Research Unit, is populated by artistically minded people from all over the world and inspired by a gentle and decisive way of forming thinking. My special thanks go to her accuracy and patience during the installation and expansion of an “inner atelier.” I also thank the German philosopher and author Wolfgang Iser for his helpful company in the poetic part of work. Shelley, Hildegard and Wolfgang have decisively co-shaped the metamorphosis of a “librarian” into a poetic writer. What could have been more helpful than skilful companions when going ashore to the poetic continent?

Furthermore, my thanks go to all the students and colleagues at the Oxford Social Sculpture Research Unit for the inspiring gatherings in a miraculous research laboratory, for days on end. Where else would it be possible to sit together philosophising for a whole day or even two?

1. Introduction

When I became familiar with Scandinavia's mountains decades ago, I wasn't aware that I was walking in Hammarskjöld's footsteps. I probably pitched my tent in spots where he pitched his decades before. My university studies of Scandinavian culture, and my long-term interest in international politics and in what I call buried cosmopolitan histories, have put me on his track again, this time on the track he left in world affairs as a diplomat and a mystic. This reflective commentary presents the process of writing an artistic analysis of Hammarskjöld's work, focused primarily on his proposals, explicit and implicit, for a cosmopolitan world order.

After 30 years of professional work in the field of civic education, the analysis of Hammarskjöld's political wisdom in my practice-based dissertation marks a new stage — and, it is not too much to say, a personal revolution. There is an urgent question, a sense of unrest, in the practice itself, which also informs this reflective commentary. Why is Hammarskjöld, and so many other cosmopolitan thinkers of the modern era, not taken into consideration at a time when everybody, so to speak, is concerned with globalization and its innumerable impacts? How can an idea disappear just when its time has come? Is there a weakness in the idea itself? Is it not the right shape? Are effective elements to shape it, missing? Is the mental map missing or flawed that would invite thoughtful people to work with the idea? Is there no place for the idea of cosmopolitanism in our politicized world? What is needed now for this idea to gain new life and flourish?

To respond to these interconnected questions, I knew that I needed a somewhat unique method. It would not suffice to write a standard biography of Hammarskjöld focused on his pathway toward and enactment of cosmopolitan thinking. The search for creative pathways and passages toward world citizenship would differ from such engagement: it would need a praxis and form of communicating it that could open doors toward this vivid idea that appeared along Hammarskjöld's path—and then it would need to depart from that path and the model set by Hammarskjöld to become

a new living being. I would walk the first steps with Hammarskjöld but then step away from his thinking and freely explore the potential of the cosmopolitan idea and practice for today, more than a half-century after Hammarskjöld's death (17-18 September 1961) in a highly suspicious air crash. In this way, scholarship would acquire a serious companion and the measuring of historically verifiable traces would hopefully be enriched by an intuitive look at the traces.

The artistic, poetic approach that I needed, I found in work of the Social Sculpture Research Unit in Oxford, in the ideas of Joseph Beuys (1921-1986) and in the philosophy of Hans Blumenberg (1920-1996). I needed a new approach both to develop and to share with readers, a completely fresh view of cosmopolitanism; to learn from Hammarskjöld in depth but also to see where his thought and practice could lead: to discover that new terrain. Social Sculpture encouraged me to explore new kinds of thinking instead of fitting new contents into old thought-forms. Beuys' well-known dictum "every human being is an artist" became as substantive to me as Blumenberg's distinction between pinning down a meaning and unfolding or liberating meaningfulness (Blumenberg, 2011).

The production of meaningfulness calls for elements woven into concise scenes and contexts through connotations, metaphors or narratives. Blumenberg is not dismayed by what he calls "blurriness"; from his perspective, it is a necessary condition for the generation of meaningfulness. Even when the exact meaning of statements, narratives or events cannot be specified, they might well be meaningful. We humans ceaselessly attempt to pin down meaning, whereas meaningfulness longs for liberation to go for a wider and deeper view. Is this simply a distinction between prose and poetry, or between narrowly intellectual understanding and a more felt sense for scenes and contexts? However the experiential distinction is worded, Blumenberg's philosophy alongside Beuys's social sculpture proposals, and Sacks' work in the contemporary field of social sculpture have energized and guided my work. My practice-based dissertation is an artistic attempt toward the liberation and multiplication of meaningfulness in a cultural zone that has for the most part been the preserve of political scientists and historians. It is an attempt to explore and inspire a new sense of the possibility and value of world citizenship: of cosmopolitanism.

My quest along tracks laid down by Hammarskjöld toward a richer, more robust understanding of world citizenship, with the help of practices in contemporary social sculpture, like the imaginal work in the “inner atelier”, opened my eyes to my own political—and anti-political—thinking. It aroused and nurtured the capacity to watch myself seeing and thinking, and thus to turn my thoughts into art—a kind of art that everyone will encounter who learns to work in their own inner atelier. *Every human being is an artist* in this sense, which also relates to what Beuys means when he says: “Thinking is already sculpture”!³ Beuys’ dictum therefore is not primarily about practicing an art or craft like painting or weaving — as much as it is about becoming conscious in one’s thinking and one’s action.

We can begin to look more closely now at the example set by Dag Hammarskjöld, the foremost diplomat of his era and, though the public did not know until after his death, a mystic in the classic sense of the word. During his tenure as the second Secretary-General of the United Nations (April 1953 - September 1961), he shaped the organisation, defined and refined its identity, and left a legacy of political wisdom more comprehensive, persuasive and memorable than did any of his successors. Hammarskjöld also left a journal, much like a field guide, which offers irreplaceable help in tracking his cosmopolitan wisdom. This, posthumously discovered, book-length text — which only one person knew of in his lifetime — says nothing about the business of diplomacy. On the other hand, it draws from Hammarskjöld’s own “inner atelier” — to use the language of my mentor, the social sculpture practitioner, writer and educator, Shelley Sacks — to illuminate the inner dynamics of the life of a cosmopolitan peacemaker. An invisible line stretches from external events to internal understandings, as in the following sentence: “The rope above the abyss is held taut by those who give it anchorage in heaven.”⁴ My practice explores, among many other journal entries, this extraordinary statement. It is the credo of an individual who understands the price of human and planetary survival.

As I explored passages on international communities and world citizenship in Dag Hammarskjöld’s lifework, a pattern of thinking and acting became evident which reaches from an inner space of thinking, his inner atelier, to the world at large, so wonderful to behold and so vulnerable. Rather than performing as a subordinate

center of power alongside the “great powers”, as the permanent member nations of the UN Security Council were then known, Dag Hammarskjöld was an active protagonist in world affairs. It is strange, therefore, that his efforts and his remarkable political thought are barely remembered today as an authoritative set of waymarks for international politics, however much they have been studied and appreciated over the years in biographies, UN documents, and other sources. Knowledge about him has settled. The semantic gold dust of his wisdom must be stirred up again. This is in part the project of my praxis.

The new aspects of this work do not aim to outdo what already exists, neither to attack what has already been written. Instead, out of respect and the desire for a fresh perspective, some familiar issues in the literature are perceived from new vantage points. However, as noted earlier, there is urgency and unrest underlying my entire praxis. We need to understand the disappearance of a cosmopolitan attitude, paradoxically occurring at the same time that further globalisation is demanded on nearly all sides. My work is, so to speak, a call against forgetting and abandoning the value of cosmopolitan “being-in-the-world”; against the idea that *world citizenship* is of the same kind and quality as *national citizenship* — global but not qualitatively different; and against losing Dag Hammarskjöld’s skill and art in the general turmoil of events, crises and passing political ideas.

With good reason, Hammarskjöld is compared to the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius (121-180). In the book, a full chapter is dedicated to this comparison. Marcus Aurelius and Dag Hammarskjöld lived 1800 years apart. Both were officials of the highest rank, one serving as Roman emperor from 161 to 180, the other as secretary-general of the United Nations from 1953 to 1961. Both wrote private journals, which have become part of world literature; their primary theme, shared across the centuries, is the path toward unifying inner and outer life: the *vita contemplativa* and the *vita activa*.⁵ Both Hammarskjöld and Aurelius are known as philosophers and world citizens. Both recognised the wholeness of the world and strived for a cosmopolitan attitude. Both lived within their time and yet somehow in eternity if, as Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889-1951) says, eternity is not endless time, but timelessness which “gives presence to the one who lives eternally.”⁶

In the year of his inauguration, 1953, Hammarskjöld said: “The history of mankind is made by man, but men partly make it blindly. . . . We cannot mould the world as masters of a material thing. . . . But we can influence the development of the world from within as a spiritual thing.”⁷

To make the world blindly! This is quite a hint as to the creative potential of formative forces and “invisible materials” (Beuys, 1979), and is truly essential if we are to make use of our own views and longings, our feelings and intimations, in a sculptural, moulding way. This work with the invisible materials is central to the contemporary field of social sculpture.

To work and write creatively in the sense just evoked, I felt the need for a companion. If I was to be a pilgrim in search of true ideas and enactments of world citizenship, like many pilgrims before me I needed a wise friend — and found him in an ass. We set out together, a pair of fellow travellers equipped with human and animal intelligence, with our gifts of thinking, feeling, sensing. We explored the Hammarskjöld material, his wealth of journal entries and public statements, and, on that basis, what the idea and practice of creating an international community might mean. We also did not fail to look closely at what struck us as the temptation of creating a world government. Together we entered the wilderness of clear thinking where we came upon the wisdom of anti-politics, the idea of a higher self, and the question of human capacities for *waymaking*.

Need I defend my adoption of an ass as my research partner and fellow pilgrim? German literature has long offered respect to this helpful creature. August von Kotzebue (1761-1819) put it as well as any: “There are few world citizens as useful as the donkey.”⁸ Cornelius Agrippa (1486-1535) regarded donkeys as teachers, likely symbols of our human, incarnate nature, which has so much to teach us: “If you do not turn to the donkey, you will never know how to receive the divine secrets within yourselves.”⁹ In the book (the practice-based dissertation), the donkey and the researcher are on a pilgrimage, not merely a walk. Walkers tend to follow familiar routes. Pilgrims set out for the unknown. Pilgrimage means entering new spaces, breaking into unnecessarily guarded spaces, surrendering to the unknown. Pilgrimage means pushing forward, hesitating, falling silent, sometimes drawing

nearer to a goal by means of detours. There is no pseudo-sovereign strolling about. In our pilgrimage, the researcher and the guiding donkey take the idea of world citizenship as their beacon, and they advance.

Pilgrimage as a mode of research replaces mapping with *wayfinding* or *waymaking*. It is not a matter of pinning down facts, although many facts are discovered and appreciated along the way. It is a matter of sensing and shaping possibilities that offer a sense of reality and lead the pilgrim and his donkey further on.

Hammar skjöld was, of course, a man of facts — how could he not be, as secretary-general at the height of the Cold War and the threat of nuclear destruction? Yet there was far more to him than that. During his lifetime he corresponded with international intellectuals and artists; as a member of the Swedish Academy, he participated in the election of Nobel Prize laureates in literature; he gave numerous lectures, mostly at universities, all of which he wrote himself; and he kept a private journal, published only several years after his death, which reveals his spiritual quest and understanding, closely linked to his public work. Again and again, he acknowledges the importance of spiritual life for the creation of international community, and for coming to one's own thinking.

Most readers of my dissertation and this commentary will already be aware that Hammar skjöld and fifteen UN colleagues died in an air crash in central Africa, very likely an assassination, and now subject to re-investigation by the UN after a gap of decades. Hammar skjöld had been on mission to forge a cease-fire and possibly a lasting settlement in the civil war in the recently independent Democratic Republic of the Congo. At the place where Hammar skjöld's body was found after the fatal crash, clues of his elusive inner life were also found. His briefcase, intact, contained a German edition of poems by Rainer Maria Rilke, a novel by the French writer Jean Giono, copies in several languages of the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber's "I and Thou" — he was translating it into Swedish — and a compact edition of the New Testament.¹⁰ These are not just an arbitrary collection of texts. They are *signposts* that embody and reflect the profound concerns of Dag Hammar skjöld. Long after his death, such concerns are still largely missing from international politics.

In a speech “The Walls of Distrust” (1958), Hammarskjöld expressed what he felt to be a necessary goal: “The widening of our political horizons to embrace in a new sense the whole of the world. . . .”¹¹ As the American scholar Roger Lipsey commented in his recent biography of Hammarskjöld: “No one, it seems, took him aside to ask: ‘Kind sir, what really do you mean?’ He had too few pupils.”¹²

May this work, in its own way, attract serious students and pupils.

2. Dipping the pen into thinking

2.1. The poetic mode and what it enables

In what way is an artistic approach able to unpack and engage with a text? The Late Byzantine encyclopaedia “Suda” notes that one can dive into thinking with one’s pen: “Aristotle was the author and naturalist who dipped his pen into thinking.”¹³ With the pen, one becomes the writer of thinking itself as well as the writer on one’s chosen topics.

For Johannes von Tepl’s “Ackermann aus Böhmen (The Ploughman from Bohemia, ca. 1400)”, the plough became the quill, in keeping with the tradition of the biblical sower who *sows the word*. Furrow by furrow—line by line—the poet puts into the soil single seeds from which nourishing fruits of the mind shall sprout.¹⁴

Artistic focus on a person (Hammar skjöld), on ideas (world citizenship and pathways and passages toward it) and on certain beings (researcher, ass, angel...) brings about a dense set of meanings. History, the immediate environment, contemporaries, specific actors and plans all appear against the backdrop of a general interrogative horizon.

The creation of a relationship with Dag Hammar skjöld and his cosmopolitan wisdom first of all means creating an impression, *thus pressing something onto a surface (printing!)*, in order to gain a likeness to which we will refer. We find and sustain a relation with him, pursue an understanding of his capacity and incapacity, witness his sublimity and eccentricity and—finally—his martyr’s death.

Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) created *natural paintings* in the domains of knowledge he examined. For him, the portrayal of the impression received by a viewer was a necessary supplement to data and measures. Offering this impression, he sought to express the deepest causes for the human enjoyment of nature. “We

feel related . . . with all that is organic", states the "Introductory Considerations" from his universal work *Kosmos*.¹⁵

The poems and the contemplations of my companion, the ass, show the relation between the researcher and the object of research; they show how things appear to the researcher. The British artist, art historian and social philosopher, John Ruskin (1819-1900), distinguishes between a science of phenomena, or aspects, and a science of facts. Both sciences set out to observe exactly, but what they perceive is not the same. Appearance, according to Ruskin, is a term of relation: the relation between an object and a viewer.¹⁶

This consideration leads directly to Beuys' idea of invisible materials, which is significant in the field of Social Sculpture. Joseph Beuys also says one must be able *to hear* sculptures.¹⁷ Anything I see and touch also touches me on a level of which I remain mostly unaware: my soul. When working with invisible materials, it therefore also has to do with how the seen, the heard and felt affect the deeper layers of the soul, what they cause inside of me: whether they mobilise or paralyse, inspire or confuse.

This somewhat different approach to knowing is practised by an unusual being (my companion, the ass) and by means of a fruitful genre (poetry). With the help of poetry, insights are created which would not emerge from logical argumentation. It is the special property of poetry to reveal not only circumstances and structures, but also moods and mental fields; to evoke movement by colour, sound, melody and rhythm. For the humanist and writer Conrad Celtis (1459-1508), poetry is a leading and unique art owing to its ability to move (*movere*) the reader and listener.¹⁸

The renewing of reality is also central to the poetic mode and comes about through a special form of imagination – *imaginatio vera*, a creative, structured and structuring ability. By means of rhetoric, renewal calls intermediate worlds into being that are populated by creatures such as angels. Language and signs serve not only as *ergon*, tools for the transmission of sense, but also as *energeia*, the enabling condition for the creation of sense.

In Athens, the public means of transport are called *metaphorai*. Metaphors can be experienced as thinking in transit. They enable links, changes to new lines, stops at certain places that allow us to pause to redefine the terrain. For the American philosopher Richard Rorty (1931-2007), intellectual and moral progress does not consist of the increase of our knowledge about how things really are, but of a history of increasingly useful metaphors.¹⁹ Like a telescope, a metaphor permits us to view another or higher reality. Through metaphors, the writer reveals the invisible.²⁰

On the first page of the table of contents – the portal to the book – there is a collage of drawings of a donkey. The Austrian cartoonist Klaus Pitter²¹ thereby introduces pages where the ass will take the stage. At the same time, this page symbolises the design of the whole work – a sequence of pictures and scenarios. Readers of this book therefore become immersed in *a film* rather than a logical chain of arguments intended to prove or disprove hypotheses.

2.2. Thinking of Walking while Writing for Thinking

“Methinks that the moment my legs begin to move,
my thoughts begin to flow.”

(Henry David Thoreau, 1817-1862)

The work to which this reflective commentary refers privileges walking as a space-forming, space-creating action, to watching as an action aimed at recognizing an established order. Watching receives a picture and says: “There is. . .” whereas the movement of walking opens up a space and says: “Come on in.”²² Walking starts and continues down a path, saying: “Come along.”

In his dictionary, the German linguist Jacob Grimm (1785-1863)²³ refers to the relationship between the sensual world and the mind’s world, a relationship which appears as a movement from the sensual world toward thoughts. It also works vice versa: Thoughts can extend into seeing, become active, enabling a kind of an inner walking. The *Peripatetics* in classical Greece were philosophers that were thinking while walking. After his famous walk to Syracuse in 1802, Johann Gottfried Seume (1763-1810) said: “On average, those who walk anthropologically and cosmically see more than those who drive.”²⁴

My investigation and presentation of Dag Hammarskjöld's lifework concerning pathways toward world citizenship is verbally conveyed through an emphasis on physical locomotion: Going, walking, making a pilgrimage. This kind of locomotion, according to Michel de Certeau (1925-1986), has a function corresponding to ancient vagabond *superstitions*. It replaces legends of former times that were told in order to open the space for the Different / the New / the Other. Walking leads to displacement, expansion, widening. It is a practice that creates new space. It turns the act of researching into a myth-generating mode. Telling legends and entering landscapes are acts that create spaces.

2.2.1. Walking like a Pilgrim

Pilgrimage is a special form of walking. My book, and my praxis as a whole, stresses this mode of movement as part of the artistic practice. Pilgrims have the potential to break out of closed spaces, to embark on new ventures, to discover unknowns. The pilgrim leaves the known behind again and again, always reaching out to the unknown that lies ahead. The pilgrim researcher with his donkey leading the way brings forth Hammarskjöld's idea of world citizenship.

In keeping with the philosophy of Hans Blumenberg, the somewhat novel idea of *Wegfähigkeit*²⁵ develops out of Dag Hammarskjöld's journal *Markings*. This is its title as published in English. I however prefer to translate literally from Swedish *Vägmärken*: hence *Waymarks*.²⁶ "Wegfähigkeit," the capacity to make a way, means the art of forming a new path, like the three Wise Men who found a way by following an unknown star. The appearance of a comet, a vagabond in the sky, a new light, made them leave their accustomed paths for the sake of another path and an unknown destination.²⁷ And they followed it! A way declares itself as soon as it is walked.

How does this relate to Hammarskjöld and his brilliant journal? Hammarskjöld as a lifelong pilgrim perceived the way as a sign and followed its lead. Paths are, like comets, children of the cosmos. They are deviations from the universe of regular tracks, weird phenomena that seem to act with immense freedom—and that is why they exist: they escape and run off, they get lost. They escape from a thinking pattern that runs the risk of merging into a *Delirium of Straightening*. "Begradigungsdelirium" is a term coined by contemporary German author, Botho Strauß (Strauß, 2014) that refers to straightening things out until they lack all character—and of being caught in a permanent process of action and failure. Shaping a path for artistic practice means liberating oneself from the track of exclusively intellectual thought and following a new light.

A geometer sees and analyses what is given, ideally from the air, beyond the formative forces in time and space. The pilgrim, on the other hand, moves toward what is emerging, toward the formative forces, and every now and then even

becomes the formative, creative force. She / He does not perceive from above as through a satellite camera, but through the sensual feeling that is given by the path. Pilgrimage as a mode of research replaces mapping by *wayfinding*²⁸ or *waymaking*. It is not the diagnosis of circumstances, but the sensing and simulating of possibilities that points to reality and leads to movement. The pilgrim is he / she who moves on. “Ultreia” cried medieval pilgrims on the route to Santiago de Compostela: onward!

Instead of promptly finding expressions for certain phenomena, the contemplative commitment to the world prefers to linger. The contemplative mode accepts and endures a state of soaring in a condition of uncertainty. Mysteries and contradictions are only slowly put into words, ironic contexts and expectations are recognized but left unresolved. That slows down the pilgrimage. This suits the ass.

2.2.2. The pilgrim’s pattern and style

The scenery for the pilgrimage is a mental construction, a pattern that reveals the necessary path and opens a vista to many things— and ultimately the perception of a great unity.

Is it a coincidence that the first limner of landscape, Homer, was blind? What did he see when he evoked a landscape? Given that he was unable to see outward appearances, what he saw was inside. Or one could say: his thinking was visionary. The seers of ancient Greece were said to be blind yet endowed with immense powers of vision. They developed an intelligence that configured space and time in images.

The image of a unified, spatially structured landscape can only be generated if the viewer has in mind the creation of a unity from the multiplicity of impressions. Our eye goes out ahead in the search for cosmopolitan passages: the seeking eye directing the seeker’s feet.

A biography would have looked at Hammarskjöld's life and at the legacy of his work as a diplomat. However, there is different approach and goal to my work. The fictive passage into world citizenship leads to the idea of a cosmopolitan being. This unfolds in Hammarskjöld's footsteps, but ultimately frees itself from Hammarskjöld and finds its independence. Finding becomes inventing. And there is a transitory connection made by sympathetic passers-by. Following the dynamic stream of Hammarskjöld's thinking, I nevertheless discover an inner compass, which lets me move on. The pilgrim and his ass continue moving toward their own unknown.

In my book – the practise-based research on Dag Hammarskjöld's lifework and wisdom – the emphasis is on moving away from customary interpretations and superficial expectations. This opens the possibility of unexpected *coups*: Hammarskjöld an anti-politician! World citizenship fundamentally different from political citizenship!

In order to execute a peaceful coup of the kind I have in mind, the existing equilibrium must be altered by means of a new force: perhaps simply by a compelling story or an appropriate quotation. For example, in my book chapter "Ein Schwert für die Welt" (A Sword for the World) the diplomatically skilful idea of a UN presence as implemented by Hammarskjöld in the 1950s, was deeply shaken by the Bosnian situation in 1994 – of Srebrenica. A newspaper article refers to a young UN recruit who experienced both mass murder and his inability to do anything to prevent it.²⁹ By bringing together Hammarskjöld's intention with the story of the young UN recruit, a narrative is created that is neither descriptive nor analytical.

The space of thoughtfulness opens up if one opens oneself to the *imaginative potential* of the anecdote, the metaphor, the fable; if one does not reduce the fable to a meaning, from which a moral can be duly extracted.³⁰ This has been the fate of many Hammarskjöld texts in the critical literature. They deserve better.

2.2.3. Creating detours and stumbling blocks

The subject at hand – Dag Hammarskjöld's lifework and his cosmopolitan wisdom – is not approached directly in the book, but rather by way of detours and stumbling blocks. Quick comprehension will not allow us to reach a meaningful destination. Instead, we find our way through alienation, aggravation, interruption, displacement – coming nearer to the unknown without eliminating its strangeness.

A targeted, straight route leading by the shortest way to a desired destination is more likely to be a boring rut. This would not be a pilgrimage. If the pilgrim moves along a forest path or country lane whose surface is uneven and slippery, he becomes acutely aware—all eyes, nose, and ears. The challenges of a faintly marked path through a diverse landscape will make him feel enlivened even if tired. The world will remain exciting, the ground very real, the horizon enticing.

According to the American poet Emily Dickinson's remarkable injunction to herself – “Tell all the truth but tell it slant,”³¹ – **movement** requires deviations from one's course and shifting perspectives. *The field trips* enable just such pondering, as the ass demonstrates. The mystification that makes things unfamiliar also opens our eyes to them; displacement lures the unknown from its hiding place beneath the known.

Strolling that is neither linear nor goal directed, it forms a broken narrative, and slows the reading process. It reduces the speed of the automatic flow of thoughts to the real speed of thinking. The structure of the text in the book, made possible by the physical, printed space, is significant. The space between paragraphs is increased, allowing isolated thoughts to breathe and exist on their own. A pneumatic construction: the mind can pass through and infuse breath into the ideas. Everything remains fragmentary; many thoughts exist independent of preceding or subsequent passages, and reading can begin almost anywhere. To peruse the book from beginning to end – feigning linearity – is just one of many possibilities.

The text obscures the familiar: it turns accepted knowledge upside down, throws in certain doubts, and provokes reflexion. A dry field is turned over and seeds of ideas

land on fertile soil. Language flows in dense complexities, lingers in wonder, uncovers new thoughts, builds an atmosphere and with it a soul space. Lack of clarity in relevant doses confers new kinds of significance.

2.2.4. Enhancing meaning

According to Hans Blumenberg, the production of meaningfulness [in German: *Bedeutsamkeit*] requires things to be bound together connotatively, metaphorically or narratively into succinct scenes and correlations. A necessary condition for the enhancement of meaningfulness is a level of indistinctness. When the meaning of statements, narrations or events is not clearly stated, they might better lead to the inherent substance. Critically calling into question the exegete's ambition to make the implied explicit, Blumenberg firmly states: "Whoever insists on grasping the meaning of meaningfulness, loses both."³² Meaning can be fixed; meaningfulness must be released. It is a matter of letting *controlled ambiguity* or *measured inaccuracy* exist, or of producing it oneself.³³

2.2.5. Taking part in the dance

The narrative authority of the ass and the myth-making practice of the pilgrim's walk put a storyteller's imprint on the narration. In this writing, the art lies in the arrangement of imaginal elements alongside analytic elements. In the interplay of the imaginal mode and analysis, is an attempt to create a whole, which generates ripples. A new arrangement of the whole emerges through shifting the different elements. Storytelling is not the *expression* of a practice, and it does not merely talk *about* movement: It *carries out* the movement. And the movement can only be understood through participation.³⁴

2.2.6. Stirring up dust

What is new in this work has nothing to do with improving on existing works but rather with enhancing interpretations, setting them in motion and creating counter-

positions. [In German “Gegen-Wart” means both “counter-position” and “the present”]. This is therefore not a critique of what has already been created. Instead, out of respect and confident in a fresh perspective, familiar and unfamiliar points are examined anew. The research covers many “scenes” in Dag Hammarskjöld’s work as well as material available in English, German and Swedish. As we walk through them, semantic dust is stirred and settles in new patterns, whilst the research proceeds without new facts being uncovered or revealed. Instead, one could say that “inter-worlds” are generated: seemingly obvious facts and relations are deliberately shaken; the fixed is brought into motion, and long-settled semantic dust is stirred in the process of rummaging through knowledge. What results is a new deposit.

2.2.7. The mind writing itself down

In the process of writing something down – that is, the rhetorical and imaginative substance of words, sayings, metaphors, and drawings as a concrete practice – the gradual formation of thoughts occurs (Heinrich von Kleist).³⁵ The methodical demands of this artistic practice are comparable to the methodical demands of philosophy: no predetermined guidelines, but the emergence of methods corresponding to the question or practice at hand.

In the process of writing itself down, the mind searches for a form that comes close to the essay: an exploratory, tentative procedure. The composition consists of areas of compression and their interweaving, instead of derivations from definitions. Knowledge bubbles up, happens, with the help of cutting and montage. Material that has been discovered and unearthed is extracted (as the trace from the substrate) and composed anew (or stamped into a new substrate creating a new impression). This is the basic process within an essay-like mode that generates knowledge.³⁶

The mind writing itself down is hospitable; it welcomes anything that contributes to its engagement. In writing itself down, the mind becomes a scene of experience; it does not think, but rather warmly meets the thinking, which becomes present because of its hospitality.

At the beginning, writing consists of selecting, valuing, installing and contextualizing existing written discoveries, insights, opinions and comments. Such text elements are arranged ambiguously, de-formed, encoded anew, set down as blocks of thought. They stand erratically in a scenario that finds form between them. Quotations of old masters, current newspaper clippings, self-written poems and epic sequences lie scattered, and yet, despite their contexts and linkages, they remain discrete arenas of their own: moveable, free and open to further new connections.

Thus the text can continue to be written. Its structure – its non-linear, deliberately eccentric arrangement of thoughts – permits insertions, additions and movements, constant repositioning and shifting. Between the blocks of text there is air and space for lingering and for the presence of the reader's own thoughts, which themselves extend the text. The reader can engage *between* the blocks of text, relax his or her mind there and enter a "theoretical state," of mobile thought and feeling. To continue writing means to invite the reader's voluntary involvement.

2.3. Praxis: Strategies for Learning and Communication

2.3.1. The artistic principle

The artistic principle guiding my dissertation does not focus on knowledge as the outcome of research, but rather on the experience of producing knowledge. This approach shifts attention from the result to the process as an encounter of the self with all of the materials that bear on world citizenship. The written and graphically illustrated dissertation is of course important, but more important still, are the ongoing gestures of provocation, settlement and reflection, which the dissertation records, rather like a film. Original knowledge is generated by an approach that understands research to be an artistic process, intuitive and creative without disregarding the legitimate demands of historiography and biography.

The contribution of Social Sculpture to this process is crucial. Social Sculpture encourages the ability to see oneself thinking – to observe oneself in a moment of thought. We are able to see when our thinking begins to move in a direction, and are therefore able to alter or affirm that direction. “The head is round, so that thinking can change direction.”³⁷

2.3.2. Consulting the “Librarian” and the Long Shelves of Knowledge

Work toward this practice-based dissertation began with a “librarian”, an internal personage of mine who was anxious about improperly entering the realm of art as a writer. Searching, investigating and finding, valuing, arranging and contextualising knowledge is a craft familiar to the librarian; writing, however, is an art. My fear soon proved to be groundless. The questions encountered in the process of research needed the art of writing—that art among others—and the artistic undertaking needed the capabilities of a librarian. Turning well-known data upside-down and generating new knowledge illumined by Social Sculpture practices and Blumenberg’s rich understanding of metaphor cannot stem from the library; it can stem only from oneself. But preliminary work with the support of the librarian is needed for creating a solid material foundation. The artistic undertaking can be seen

as an attempt to migrate from the condition of a librarian into another condition, a “shaper”, Gestalter, one who gives form. The librarian however never completely gave over the work to the artist. By searching and collecting, the librarian creates a sound footing for the writer and legitimises the writer’s intellectual autonomy. The peculiar, the new and surprising, remains solidly anchored in documented knowledge. The researcher’s impulse toward exploration benefits—of course—from the experience of the librarian.

It is quite rare to make new discoveries or gain new perspectives when one remains on the main routes of the secondary literature. Intuitive insights of real value are more likely to emerge through close attention to primary sources. As a literary and spiritual seeker, Hammarskjöld himself lived amongst the primary sources: from the Psalms to contemporary novelists and poets such as Hermann Hesse (1877-1962) and Saint-John Perse (1887-1975). In turn, the researcher tracing his footsteps has the privilege, and obligation, to consider these sources—and feast on them as rich and profound documents of humanity.

Dag Hammarskjöld’s life, political challenges and achievements as UN secretary-general are extensively recorded in the well-known biography written by his long-serving assistant Brian Urquhart.³⁸ Hammarskjöld’s ethics are the focus of Manuel Fröhlich’s important book³⁹, while Roger Lipsey’s biography,⁴⁰ published in 2013, goes furthest toward connecting Hammarskjöld’s mysticism, revealed in his journal *Waymarks*, with his professional work as secretary-general. These books and a substantial body of literature constitute the secondary sources for understanding Hammarskjöld’s person, contributions and worldview.

The primary literature on which I have relied is extensive and somewhat unexplored. Hammarskjöld’s numerous speeches at the UN and at universities in the United States and elsewhere, and his correspondence with his fellow Swedish academicians and many other trusted peers, as well as with Albert Schweitzer (1875-1965), Martin Buber (1878-1965), and George Ivan Smith (1915-1995), reveal Hammarskjöld’s understanding of cosmopolitanism. Further insights can be drawn from the investigation of places and spaces created by Hammarskjöld, such as the meditation room at UN headquarters. The idea and philosophy of

cosmopolitan thinking is investigated by other scholars, particularly with regard to education. Based primarily on Kant (1724-1804), Pauline Kleingeld from Groningen University recently published “The Philosophical Ideal of World Citizenship.”⁴¹ A similar approach is pursued by the Södertörn Academic Studies group in Stockholm.⁴² The works of the Danish philosopher Peter Kemp,⁴³ as well as those of a group of German authors,⁴⁴ also probe the idea of world citizenship.

Although several of the new researchers have Scandinavian roots, their focus is not on the significance of Hammarskjöld’s lifework for world citizenship and cosmopolitanism. My dissertation fills that regrettable gap: it returns Hammarskjöld to where he belongs: at the centre of these topics.

2.3.3. Theory, Praxis, Poetry

The pilgrim’s wandering begins in a theoretical state, which means a state of involvement, but not with theses. In Ancient Greece, a participant in a festival legation was called *theoros*, the *theoretician*. He embarked on an adventure when accepting an invitation (for example, to a symposium). If he survived and returned enriched and enthusiastic to share it with others, he had become a “practical” person. As a result of such involvement, if he went on to accomplish concrete work, he was then a “poet”. In times gone by, the poet was the *man of action*, the engineer, the one who was able to bring the laws of the universe into people’s lives (just as the engineer of today involves the laws of nature in technical projects). This is also significant in my work: to move others, to carry something further. It is part of my practise

This fluid transition from theory to practice led twentieth-century German philosophers Hans Georg Gadamer (1900-2002) and Joachim Ritter (1903-1974)⁴⁵ to speak of a “theory-practice continuum,” in which theory and practise enhance each other and endow with complexity and character a process which, on one hand, strives for truth and understanding and, on the other, generates action and movement. In light of these ideas, poetry is understood in my research practice as a way of thinking – creative and connective – with close links to Schiller’s aesthetic

mode and to Novalis's idea from 1789 that "The poetic is what is genuine and absolutely real. The more poetic, the more true."⁴⁶

2.3.4. Combining Genres

The components of my research practice as manifest in the book belong to different genres; however, the course on which the author leads the reader becomes a single path. There are the teaching-reflections of the ass, acting as a narrative authority. There are thematic *field trips*, which discuss the subject freely in an essay-like manner to carefully advance the thinking. There are poems which create spaces for lingering and reflection. And finally, there are two epilogues: one offering insight into an aspect of the historical material (Hammar skjöld's operation in the Hungarian uprising in 1956, described by the Hungarian author György Dalos) and the other into the idea of the artistic practice itself. The epilogues however can also be read as prefaces. As such, they serve as portals leading back into the book. The drawings of Klaus Pitter highlight the appearances of the narrating ass.

The dissertation combines genres in ways similar to early modern literature, mixing prose and verse, seriousness and the ridiculous, printed text and copperplate writing. This unusual structure is "legitimised", if this is necessary, by a tradition in formal rhetoric, *ars combinatoria*. In addition, creative, non-historical, speech, *sermocinatio*, enables me to put words into the mouths of historical figures where this liberty advances the research, the findings and interventions noted earlier. In this way, a slightly modified quotation from the Hungarian author Sandor Márai (1900-1989) is inserted into one of Hammar skjöld's notes.⁴⁷

2.3.5. Constellating Field Trips

Field trips show the origin of and possible passages toward world citizenship. Two chapters deal with the seductive and tempting potential of the idea; three chapters try to capture the essence. Historically, the idea of world citizenship goes back as far as Marcus Aurelius and his journal known for centuries as *The Meditations*. A recent iteration is in the private writings and public statements of Dag Hammar skjöld,

often described as the Marcus Aurelius of our era. The book pauses at length over the resonant interconnections of these two outstanding personages.

Notes on specific field trips in the practice-based research:

Passages to World Citizenship: Stories and the history of cosmopolitan ideas lead from classical-humanistic instances (Kant, Erasmus), to radical attempts (Anacharsis Cloots) and onto sheer idiocy (Isabelle Stenger). The disappearance of world citizenship from public debate, while globalisation spreads, is presented as a significant paradox. Cosmopolitan thinking is interpreted as an expression of anti-politics, not unrelated to mysticism.

Anti-politics: In a field trip through anti-politics – that makes reference to traditional cosmopolitan strands of thinking and Hammarskjöld's mysticism – the 1968 generation's postulate "Everything is political" loses ground. The chapter points to the dialogue between Dag Hammarskjöld and Martin Buber, who held each other in very high esteem but could find no common understanding of the role of dialogue in high-level politics.

Ideas and pictures on anti-politics are drawn according to examples from literature, primarily through the feather of the Hungarian author György Konrad, as for example: „Anti-politics are a kind of art that goes against power without *having* power. It is a kind of powerlessness working as a counter-power.“⁴⁸ And a similarity, respectively an accordance to cosmopolitan attitude is shown by co-exhibiting well-known pictures of world-citizenship: „When Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.) asked Diogenes (sitting by his rainwater tank), whether there was anything he could do for him, Diogenes just told him to move out of the sunlight.“⁴⁹ In this way it is shown how anti-politics and cosmo-politics avoid political power but hold up ethical virtues.

A Sword for the Word: The attempt at and temptation of world government is demonstrated through examples of Hammarskjöld's crisis management during international conflicts (China trip, 1955; Suez crisis, 1956; Congo crisis, 1960-61).

After Hammarskjöld's diplomatic talent had been recognized, problems were increasingly left to his devices. The phrase "Leave it to Dag" became all too familiar.

International Communities: Forming international communities was one of Hammarskjöld's central concerns. He did not, of course, call his approach to this challenge Social Sculpture, but one can recognise in his thought and practise some elements of what is understood as Social Sculpture. In his view, the United Nations should not simply be a conference mechanism, but rather a dynamic force on the world stage. He found support for his ideas in the arts, in nature and in spirituality. His work involved primarily what Joseph Beuys called "invisible materials".⁵⁰ This he emphasised soon after his inauguration, when incorporating strands of wisdom from the *Tao Te King*, as if it were a something completely contemporary:

"You cannot grip the world and shape it as a material thing. You can only influence its development if you recognize and respect it as a thing of the spirit."⁵¹

No nation state, no group of nation states, no world organisation should try and definitively shape the world, neither through its power nor by a charter or contract. Although no one respected the UN Charter more deeply than did Hammarskjöld, he knew that charters and contract were not enough. In the end "invisible materials" mattered much more.

In the Wilderness of Clear Thinking: In this field trip, a digression leads to Hammarskjöld's Swedish origins, to the role models and the environment of his youth, the town of Uppsala in the 1920s. Here the meaning of wilderness is pursued as a creative resource for (anti-) political thinking. An avid trekker in the Swedish far north, Hammarskjöld derived lifelong lessons from his experiences there.

The Ability to Create a Way: Hammarskjöld's journal *Waymarks* and the philosophy of Hans Blumenberg are considered here to explore what is needed for the art of uncovering a new path, just as the three Wise Men from the Orient followed an unknown star. The appearance of a comet, a vagabond in the sky, a new light, led

them away from known roads, enabling them to “go astray.” Here we see how a new path forms when what presents itself is perceived and followed.

The Superior Man in Service: With reference to the philosophy of Søren Kierkegaard (1813-1855) and other notable thinkers, I explore in this field trip the human educational process, leading toward a condition of intelligent virtue or unassuming aristocracy – as Hammarskjöld understood and practised it.

Rigour and Soul. Notes on state affairs: This field trip shows why Dag Hammarskjöld is considered the Marcus Aurelius of our era. Their cosmopolitan thinking is traced through a comparison of their journals, as is the concentrated daily practise of self-education in the private forum of a reflective journal.

2.3.6. Poems

The poems assume the function of images. They act as embodiments of what has been said, offering both an interpretation and opportunity: to gain a position within an at times dense and unclear environment. In poetry, words are carried beyond their conventional meanings through tone, rhythm and other colorations: for example, in the book (p. 36), the word *Hin-Richtung* in the poem “Draufgehen” means both *execution* and *orientation*.

To state a theme poetically leads not to a report but to a *Gebild* (a picture in words), in the language of Martin Heidegger (1889-1976).⁵² It makes things visible which are no longer discoverable or distinct in a given world. They are brought forth again through poetic expression.

Through the density and allusiveness characteristic of poetry, possibilities can be made visible. Knowledge can be conveyed in this way, as opposed to the typical practise of historians. Historians describe and explain facts, while the arts refer not only to fact, but also to the possible. Aristotle attributed greater philosophical value to poetry than to historiography, because the latter refers only to individual facts while the former concerns the universal.⁵³ In the works of the Austrian author

Robert Musil (1880-1942), we encounter a sense of the possible. In his monumental novel *The Man Without Qualities* (1930-33) he considers the dynamics of an *Earth Secretariat for Accuracy and Soul*.⁵⁴

2.3.7. Questions

Questions motivate a search for truth. They open up new ways of thinking and offer a direction of thought. They do not necessarily lead to answers, but move one toward understanding phenomena. Questions possess heuristic value, whether or not they result in answers. Sometimes they express doubt, sometimes provocative thinking. Instead of focusing on finding answers, we can allow questions to open up and test new pathways.

Many interlinked questions inform the research and have inspired the poetic enquiry in the book. Do international communities require individual nation states or could they be served by a world state? Do they require a bureaucratic-military mechanism, such as Hammarskjöld tried to establish? Or would it need the death of nation states and state-like mechanisms for air, light and nutrients to be freed up for the growth and nurturing of new communities?⁵⁵

2.3.8. Teaching, Pleasing, Moving

I have wanted my research, as embodied in the book to have the three impacts that St. Augustine intended in “De doctrina christiana” (4, 12:27): to teach (*docere*), to please (*delectare*) and to move (*movere*) the reader. Toward this end, I have employed several artistic techniques. Teaching is the responsibility of the ass — the reader is most likely to accept it from him. Pleasure may result from enjoying the design of the book, and from being able to approach its text, images and quotations in a varied and non-linear way. Where *movere* is concerned, I depart from Augustine’s meaning. He had in mind intellectual and emotional assent. I on the other hand have organised *field trips*, where both an onward journey and certain digressions can be explored. Changes of perspective and different forms of commentary are employed. “Con-stellations” – ideas provided by heavenly

creatures – bring about a departure from the course of thought in order to move beyond and across well-trodden paths. The imaginal mode in the book, creates an interplay with its arguments. The book in this sense privileges *movere* to *docere*, guiding the reader's thought – as on a drifting raft, turning as it glides.

2.3.9. An Exemplary Human Being

Levis, argutus, inventor – versatile, perceptive, innovative – this is how Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778), characterized a specific group of people, *homo europaeus*, two hundred years ago.⁵⁶ In December 1957, on the 250th birthday of Carl Linnaeus, Hammarskjöld gave a lecture to his Swedish Academy colleagues highlighting Linnaeus's importance, characterising him as a European and as a citizen of the world, nonetheless rooted in the Swedish national character. Hammarskjöld saw Linnaeus as an “exemplary human being” in the vein of Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882) – that is to say, as a person who has truly realised their human potential. Just as Emerson represented this regarding the American national character, for Hammarskjöld, Linnaeus made visible the best of the Swedish national character. However, in Linnaeus he also recognised a genuine universalism.⁵⁷

The book presents Hammarskjöld as a human being who is exemplary for World Citizenship. He made clear by his thought and example that internationalism and rootedness in one's own nation are not diametrically opposed, but rather deeply connected: only citizens who are open to the world can be expansive with regard to their national culture, just as Enlightenment and Romantic philosophers connected “being German” with a sense of world citizenship. For Novalis (1772-1801), “Germanness” was a blend of “cosmopolitanism and the strongest individuality.”⁵⁸ Distinguishing oneself through the fullest realization of one's potential and transformation of inherited characteristics is however the call to all human beings expressed in one of Joseph Beuys's most well known phrases: “Every human being is an artist.” It is both this emphasis on the conscious and sovereign individual, and the interrelating of the national and cosmopolitan world citizen, which underpins the field of social sculpture and connects social sculpture and the work of Dag Hammarskjöld.



Cartoon by Klaus Pitter, Vienna

3. Under the Dominion of an Ass

3.1. The pondering, masterful ass

The recurrent reflexions of my ass guide the book narratively—and masterfully. It is the hegemon who leads the researcher into perceptions of the world, which are closer to animal-like and mythic forms of experience. Cogency and precision are restrained in favour of a certain liveliness and spontaneous profundity that the pondering master ass expresses as follows:

“Precise investigations are one thing, profound knowledge another. The latter has less to do with measurements and more to do with the senses. Only when certain grievances and worries are addressed can we speak of profundity. Only then can the writing become more profound.”⁵⁹

The ass’s reflexions extend a mythical grounding to human forms of experience and create a passage to the mystical dimension of Hammarskjöld’s thinking.

It has been said that animals and people have only common surroundings but no common environment because, according to the philosopher and zoologist Jakob Johann von Uexküll (1864-1944), “the environment” is a world perceived and arranged by each species in its own way. Yet on pilgrimage together, the researcher and the ass create a common soul-space which is their shared environment. Out of their common surroundings, their common environment is shaped.

3.2. The Intelligence and Usefulness of a Donkey

If elements of an argument come too much to the fore, things said and shown might become too brilliant, even blinding, and in this sense weaken the relationship with reality.⁶⁰ Here lies the danger for the researcher: to overuse his explanatory ability in such a way that it becomes blinding. The reflexions of the ass reduce this danger:

they witness, they call for vigilance, they announce, they reveal what has been imposed by the researcher's blinding presentation. They put the researcher – who risks getting lost in his explanatory skills – back on track; they bring him down to earth. Informing and appealing: this is the ass's enormous usefulness.

An allusion to ass-like qualities in Hammarskjöld is intended, of course, not out of disrespect but in order to make clear that such qualities are visible in him and that such qualities would be useful to a cosmopolitan world. The analogy with the ass as drawn in the book emphasizes certain qualities in Hammarskjöld: intelligence, resilience, patience. It aims to highlight that a different kind of intelligence and a perception of formative forces are activated through proximity to powerful landscapes, wilderness, and a "contact with reality, light and intense like the touch of a loved hand: a union in self-surrender without self-destruction ... in sun and wind, how near and how remote ..." ⁶¹

A thought from the first chapter, "Fährten, Gefährten, Gefahren" (Traces, Companions, Dangers), refers to the relation between truth and *donkeyism* that can be found in both etymology and mysticism:

"The man who leads the donkey is called Hermeneus. He is related to Hermes and tends toward harmony. The hermeneutic art is the ability to interpret the language of the Gods. The word hermetically has its origins in alchemy, where it described the sealing of a glass tube, both enigmatically and ambiguously." ⁶²

Looking at it this way, the continuum of theory and practice reaches both into poetry and mysticism. Under the welcome dominion of an ass one cannot miss this.

3.3. Animals and Angels – Outer Organs of Humans

Joseph Beuys provoked the audience of his time by spectacular actions, for example his "How to explain pictures to a dead hare" ⁶³ or the action "I like America and America likes Me," ⁶⁴ where the encounter with a coyote refers to invisible forces.

For Beuys, animals have symbolic value. He sees them as the outer organs of humans because they have a much finer sense of perception. In his view, humans should strive to regain the naturalness that is immanent in animals and was once also the case in humans. For Beuys, the intelligence of animals derives from their inwardness. To relate properly to animals, plants and nature, human beings must “step down”... and must “rise up” to connect with angels and spirits. Beuys describes his artistic actions with animals and angels as follows: “A person could then meet with angels. Purely hypothetically. If I can have an encounter with a coyote or with a goose, I can also have an encounter with an angel.”⁶⁵

Through our relations with animals, angels can be more easily perceived, as can be seen in the following story, where an ass, to whom stubbornness is ascribed, saves a person from pig-headedness:

“A prophet is called so that he might bless an army going forth to battle and, in doing so, provide much-desired support for the king, whose favour matters greatly to him. The prophet is an upright person, but he cannot resist this opportunity. He mounts his ass and rides off. Along the way, the ass bucks and refuses to continue. The priest is furious with his animal, although everyone knows how hard it is to persuade an ass. He is forced to return home. On the second day, he tries again, and again the ass bucks. On the third day he tries once more. Now, as the same situation arises, it finally dawns on him. Beneath him, the ass has felt the presence of the prophet’s guardian angel. While the prophet himself was unable to see his own calculating pig-headedness, the angel wanted to save him from an extremely problematic action. After the third episode the prophet understands, and thanks the ass.”⁶⁶

4. The Terrain

4.1. A Book

The practice-based research includes a text, but it is not about delivering a text for performance on a stage of any kind; rather, it is itself the stage of an artistic practice. If the book is passed along by its reader to someone else, it is as if a stage had been handed on, a board (the original meaning of stage) that can be positioned over difficult terrain as a footbridge toward a destination further on. In this book – which functions as a stage – a mind encounters Hammarskjöld (and others) as well as itself. The book provides the stage for a pilgrimage in Hammarskjöld's footsteps.

The first chapter is a kind of prelude, which explains the walk and the dynamic of the ass as leader, and the researcher as his companion. It posits the need for a passage toward gaining world citizenship.

The chapter "Dag Hammarskjöld – ein Nachruf, ein Weckruf (Obituary and Awakening Call)" casts light on his personality, his tragic destiny, his spiritual sources and the timelessness of his thinking.

In the subsequent chapters, grouped as *field trips*, topics and unfamiliar terrain which offer much new thought about the path to world citizenship are discussed in a free essayistic style. Entries from Hammarskjöld's journal and excerpts from his speeches as well as from correspondence with authors and artists nurture this practice. Additionally, the anchoring of his thought in much earlier historical periods is brought into focus – as if a plumb line is lowered as a probe.

The *field trips* as the main action are interrupted by the reflexions of the ass. Thus, exploratory episodes are interleaved with thematically related or freely conceived intermezzi; in addition, poems offer the opportunity for lingering and reflection.

4.2. A Landscape

In the book – walking through a landscape takes the reader into a panorama. Forming images, experiencing situations, being deeply moved, tripping over the undergrowth, witnessing the panorama – all of this happens simultaneously and in succession, without a final result. It comes about through the composition: of quotations, examples, metaphors, stories and commentaries. These become the property of the pilgrim's inner atelier.

The text is not a system that narrowly steers and leads the reader, but rather an arrangement of freedoms to create an individual path. It does not offer linear, goal-bound ideas, but an offering of potentially meaningful proposals: invitations to widen and move one's thinking and sometimes to linger and ponder.

Intellectual and spiritual movement needs a terrain – and the landscape unfolds to provide it. A geography of internal and external worlds emerges in which the writing gropes along, taken by the power it seeks to unearth. The landscape becomes a space for movement, the playground of a theory (an involvement) and an artistic practice of alternatively compressed and playful writing. The theoretical involvement and the artistic practice generate the unfolding of the landscape. It is only there, fully there, if one sees it. And the researcher with his loyal ass is only there, fully there, when he sees it as the ass does, with steady directness.

In art, landscape painting is essentially worship or perception of the spirit of a place: the *genius loci*. While high-level politics needs much space, pressure and control, pilgrimage needs place, leeway and patience. Place must not be confused with space. Space is often conceived as a featureless abstraction; place is like a richly detailed painting. Space has its formula, place has its genius. Place has physics, of course, but also its metaphysics. Thus it cannot be wholly defined, only drawn. It cannot be calculated, for it is like a face. Place is the first condition for the existence of a people and its culture. Although it cannot be defined, its moving parts include poetry, art and myths.⁶⁷

By ascribing potential to landscape and writing down its names and associations, a landscape is recognized as *an archetypal and highly enlivened area*. Whoever moves through a landscape is never alone. The environment feels and senses – it is a living being. According to the anthropologist Richard K. Nelson (b. 1941), who lived in close contact with the Koyukon people of north western Alaska, a landscape is as I have described: a field of potential, embodied in its names and associations. All river bends, hills and bays carry names; they are places and areas ensouled with meaning. To move means to feel, to sense, to track down and to draw a path through a world, which constantly observes us.

The Swedish author and Nobel Prize Laureate for Literature, Pär Lagerkvist (1891-1975), offers this song: “By viewing the landscape, I see in myself what is more than myself”⁶⁸ – and Hammarskjöld later joined in: “A landscape can sing of God; a body of mind.”⁶⁹

4.3. A Wilderness

4.3.1. The Soul's Will

The chapter *The Wilderness of Clear Thinking* gives insight into the great importance for Hammarskjöld of the Swedish writer and mystic Bertil Ekman (1894-1920). Hammarskjöld used Ekman's journal *Strödda blad*⁷⁰ as a template for his journal *Waymarks*. He recognised how Ekman crossed the stream of his time. The Swedish writer Anders Lundahl (Lundahl, 2006) first offered this insight in his 2006 study of Hammarskjöld by citing Ekman:

"We have learnt to see with historical eyes, and thus we are bound to time. Everything that appears is anxiously trying to prove the connection with history and to call history a guarantor for the new. But real creation and innovative forces are always extra-ordinary. There is nothing that follows well-trodden paths. The one who creates is blind to the past and to the future, he only sees the soul's will."⁷¹

The path to Hammarskjöld's political wisdom passes through Bertil Ekman (1894-1920), whom Hammarskjöld's biographers underrepresent or even overlook. This wisdom is mystic, close to nature, wild, and ground-breaking for my research. Who else but an ass could sense what it is about? Here are the ass's words on the subject:

My research companion is reading the tracks on which I take him. Earlier in his life, he was in the mountains many times, sometimes exactly where Hammarskjöld had gone before him, in the high north where the landscape is wide and powerful, where thinking is free and abundant My friend thinks he is leading, but an ass is free to stop when it makes no sense to move on. . . To lead means to sense – to move in the direction life is pushing. With the sense of smell which knows how to differentiate between fresh and foul, mental behaviour is more wisely directed. . . I avoid the educational domain. Without me, my research companion would constantly get lost in it, with all of its points of reference and didactic patterning, in the barracks where

cohorts of age peers are being (s)trained in 50-minute intervals. . . . For asses, channels of information and corridors of training are dangerous."⁷²

Wilderness is a force that sweeps through the human being, changes our thought patterns and thus opens us to new perceptions. Wallace Stegner (1909-1993) put it in the following way:

"We need the wilderness because it reminds us of a world which lies beyond the human world: forests, plains, prairies, deserts, mountains: experiencing such scenes gives us a notion of a certain grandness that reaches far beyond ourselves and that we have somehow lost. . . . As part of a geography of hope it helps us make ourselves sure of our own natural creativity."⁷³

4.3.2. Wild Guys

An ancestral line of *wild guys* is traced, wild guys whose wild thinking shows up in Hammarskjöld. The North American writer Walt Whitman (1819-1892) and St. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) were Bertil Ekman's *heart role models*, whom he came to know through the Swedish theologian and author Emilia Fogelklou (1878-1972), one of his early teachers. Both Whitman and St. Francis were attracted by wilderness, talked with birds, made friends with wolves. In one respect Whitman stirs thoughts about Social Sculpture, specifically Beuys: in particular, his disdain for all rehearsed virtuosity and overly refined aesthetics. He also has a cosmopolitan dimension, as in the following poem full of wonder:

"I will not make poems with reference to parts;
But I will make leaves, poems, poemets, songs, says, thoughts, with reference
to ensemble:
And I will not sing with reference to a day, but with reference to all days;
And I will not make a poem, nor the least part of a poem, but has reference to
the soul;
Because, having looked at the objects of the universe, I find there is no one,
nor any particle of one, but has reference to the soul."⁷⁴

4.3.3. The Light of Stars

An important early model for Hammarskjöld was Bertil Ekman's poetic ability to connect the solitude of the wilderness with the idea of community, a community that brings forth constant rebirths. A community that lights stars, as Ekman wrote:

"I stood and looked into the spacious night and foresaw how new life emerges from a young star, suspected that this increase of life is dependent on the purity or narrowness of my being, the goodness or malice of my will – oh, we are all responsible for each other. And tomorrow I shall wander warily, marvelling here below."⁷⁵

Bertil Ekman and Dag Hammarskjöld are among the few able "to make their bed in the wilderness and to call a star their brother"⁷⁶ – this is Hammarskjöld's language, closely tied to Ekman's. Ekman showed Hammarskjöld the way into the mountain heights beyond the timberline and into the mode of the poet:

"[Go] far to the sun beach in the poet's boat, with the sail of the will outstretched for the wind and sun. . . . I do not want to be a reflecting lake to which anyone can come to see himself reflected; I want to be a disturbed, blustering sea; whoever chooses me, chooses the fight, the storm and death."⁷⁷

Hammarskjöld chose Ekman. Returning from a mountain trek, he sings as Ekman sang—there is scarcely any distinction:

"Is there anything as constructive, in the deepest sense, as a night in the high mountains when one senses the ancient stillness of the Earth, which is endlessly more real than the rousing of humans and into which all noises sink into a thousand silences; and then the days – a sunny wind carrying the smell of snow."⁷⁸

4.3.4. Entering a Track – Walking Hammarskjöld's track

In the 1950s and 1960s, the academic discipline of geography produced a series of metaphors for its most fundamental object, the landscape: mirror, sediment, reagent, seismogram, palimpsest, etc.,⁷⁹ it also started regarding the landscape as a substrate which can take in and preserve impressions, until their gradual erosion. If we follow the geographers, he who reads tracks also reads the substrate. Interpretation comes about through separating the substrate of the track from the track, by distinguishing figure and ground. To interpret Hammarskjöld requires moving in his track.

Historiography by measurement of tracks is the concern of historians; story writing by reading tracks is presumably the concern of writers and poets. The meaning of a track is a borrowing from the tracker, who lets the track run through his life and becomes able on that basis to invent worthwhile things – by finding and discovering. Out of the discovery of tracks, inventions emerge. One has entered a track if one feels it. Analyses deliver data, and sometimes knowledge. But the formative forces often remain unrecognized. To track the formative forces, we do research – until we are so akin to those forces, so imbued with them, that the character of research becomes again an artistic practise rather than a strictly intellectual discipline.

When I first came to know about Hammarskjöld, I was already walking in his track. My first encounter with Scandinavia took place in the 1970s, and it was with the landscape—in particular with the high mountains of Lapland, where Hammarskjöld had trekked decades earlier. In the course of my studies of Scandinavian literature, I encountered him again, discovered his journal and looked for the tracks of his political and literary activity. Now, for my research project, I also explored his correspondence with authors from all over the world and his engagement as a member of the Swedish Academy in the selection of Nobel Prize Laureates for Literature. From my early wanderings in the high north through my intense studies of Swedish literature to a multitude of professional and private relationships in the Scandinavian countries, Hammarskjöld has always been present, like a shy satellite, until he finally drew me into his orbit.

4.4. Words

4.4.1. Respect for the Word

For Social Sculpture there is no more fertile area than the word – because the world began with the Word. From *the Word*. It is important to note that it did not begin from words – words that have long since been washed away from their source and now flow on without their original dignity and purpose. Hammarskjöld perceived the difference between the creative Word, baseless words, and self-serving chatter, during the autumn 1955 session of the UN General Assembly. From his seat he listened to delegates' speeches: a rising flood of words that brought no Word, no truth. He wrote in his journal:

Respect for the word is the first requirement in the discipline through which a human being can be nurtured to maturity—intellectually, emotionally, and morally.

Respect for the word—using it with strictest care and in uncompromising inner love of truth—is also for the society and the human race a condition for growth.

To misuse the word is to show contempt for the person. It undermines the bridges and poisons the springs. In this way it leads us backward on the long road of human emergence.

"I tell you, . . . for every careless word . . ." ⁸⁰

The German-Swedish author and lyricist, Nelly Sachs (1891-1970), called to the peoples of the Earth: "People of the earth, leave words at their source, because they can move the horizons into the true skies ..." ⁸¹ And in Lao Tsu (604-531 B.C.E.), we find this remarkable line: "As long as things are bound to the word, they can be halted." ⁸²

4.4.2. The Word for Responsibility

In my book, a poem illustrates the meaning of sustainable words as opposed to destructive words. This particular poem exemplifies how the text uses poetry to touch both intellect and the feeling life of language. Without sustainable words there can be no responsibility.

Die Verantwortung, die wir tragen,
in der Antwort, die wir geben,
ist gehaucht,
in ein Wort.

Die Verantwortörung, die wir vertragen
mit Antwortern, vergeblich,
macht aus dem Hauch Gebrauch,
die warme Luft,
in einem fort.⁸³

The translation of the poem makes only partial sense because English “responsibility”, unlike Ger. “Verantwortung”, lacks the internal reference to “Wort” – “word.” Nonetheless, in the following translation, I hope that the idea comes through:

The responsibility we carry
in the response we give
is expressed
in a word.

The travesty we tolerate
in wordiness,
turns expression to convention
(empty air)
going on and on.

(Hans Göttel, translated by David Rayner)

4.4.3. Unwording, the Value of Truth and Uses of the Word

The art of *unwording* tries to break from the tendency to describe with words things that can only be sensed. The surge of reality should not be caught up in instant words or linguistic formulae. In the cosmopolitan proposal⁸⁴ of the Belgian philosopher Isabelle Stengers (b. 1949), the *idiot* and the *idiom* are given fundamental functions. Her cosmopolitan proposal has nothing to do with Kant's world citizenship and eternal peace. Instead, she takes a lively interest in the idiot. The ancient Greeks considered someone an idiot who did not master the Greek language and therefore could not participate in the civilised world. A similar term, the idiom, refers to a semiprivate language generally not understood by "outsiders". "Idiot" as well as "idiom" resist becoming part of a consensus, particularly in urgent situations where thinking and action are accelerated. In emergencies, the idiot keeps murmuring that there might still be something going on that is more important.

So the pilgrim's progress, in the light of Social Sculpture, leads to recognitions of the truth-value of the word, and then again of the use-value of the word in daily life. The Word that was "in the beginning" creatively filled the primordial emptiness of the universe. Human language retains a hidden loyalty to that inconceivably creative Word. Our language is both metaphysical and quotidian, high and humble. Pilgrims understand that to think and to speak are acts that move between these poles.

4.4.4. The Word as a Pioneer

The research practice embodied in the book repeatedly recalls the flow of words. Humorously, but not without an edge of irony, Hammar skjöld once compared the endless oratory at UN General Assembly meetings to the massive flow of the great American rivers. A cosmopolitan passage across the endless flow of words can be viewed as a ford, a passable spot in the stream where the idea of the Word (which carries us safely through the ford) and the daily use of words (which carry us away) are distinguished, sensed and vividly perceived. On the one hand, we must recognise the power of the Word, in keeping with what we have heard from Hammar skjöld, Nelly Sachs and Lao Tse. On the other hand, we must de-sacralise the word—it cannot be otherwise—for its everyday use and the ability to speak at all.

Cosmopolitan passages rely on fords in the stream of drifting words. Those fords are built from life-saving words. Such words become pioneers for breakthroughs and crossings; they differ radically from the words drifting off in the stream, though their lexical content may be similar. Thus, the word *interest* carries us away into politics, while *inter-esse* creates a ford into Being.

Through their emptying or erosion in daily use, words paradoxically can become liberated spaces whose meanings can be dedicated and charged anew. They become landmarks for a new poetic geography. They divert thinking from its usual channels. In my book the “superman” is no longer a monster; “nihilism” is not a lack of belief but a basis for faith; “world government” is not a matter of politics; etc. Through the emptying of words the familiar seeps with mystery, like life-giving sap.

In sculptural work with words, meanings are multiplied or estranged, words are reassigned their all but lost original meanings, and new interpretive effects are generated. Insights are created by slight changes in a word—for example, *imagination*—or new words are invented, for example *Wegfähigkeit* (meaning the ability to shape a way) and *Entwörterung* (which means *unwording*). Through explorations of etymology, deeper layers are sounded out. Here the *invisible materials* mentioned earlier are to be found: linguistic and spiritual qualities that strengthen the capacity of the Word to defend itself against words. While words are, of course, there for our daily use, the Word creates the place where a ford makes possible the cosmopolitan crossing of pilgrims and their entourage—in my case, a most intelligent and patient ass.

4.5. A Wildly Cosmopolitan Childhood

In a meeting of the Social Sculpture Forum, Shelley Sacks asked us to introduce ourselves. After we had briefly done so, we were asked to do it again several times, but in increasingly greater detail. At one point I evoked my childhood world on the outskirts of Vienna where my parents acquired a piece of land from an illegal settlement: A farmer who could not compensate his farm hands properly instead

parcelled out one acre to each of them for cultivation and also made available small properties on which huts and houses could be established. This was in the period after the Second World War and the authorities tolerated such settlements, just as they tolerated refugees, expelled from their traditional homes and without resources, searching for a living and a place to live. People of all sorts of languages, traditions and destinies lived in the fields we now called home, and a fascinating living space unfolded for children, marked above all by the sounds of foreign idioms and the smells of exotic cuisines. These sounds and smells were everywhere, as were the stories people told their children. It was a cinema of reality. To this day, for me the cosmopolitan world is a thing of sound and taste, and it has to do with earth, marginality, tragic destinies and amusing life stories.

4.6. Europahaus Burgenland

Europahaus Burgenland was founded in 1966 in Eisenstadt (Austria), scarcely 10 miles from the heavily guarded Iron Curtain separating my country from neighbouring Hungary. The founding idea was to initiate connections with our neighbours to the East. In the 1970s it evolved into a centre for projects with majority world countries—the Third World, as it was often called at the time. Europahaus Burgenland also served as a regional centre for the peace movement. In 1990, I became director of Europahaus Burgenland. Today, with the welcome influence of Social Sculpture, Europahaus considers itself “an atelier” for cosmopolitan theory, practise and poetry where cosmopolitan activities can take shape. Most noticeable, perhaps, are our international meetings typically on cosmopolitan themes, supported by our cosmopolitan library. We are also doing our best to cultivate a healthy, diverse cosmopolitan garden, good for quiet times but also outdoor meetings in the warmer months.

The heart of a cosmopolitan place of learning, in our Europahaus version, is the cosmopolitan library, less because of its special collection of books than because of its quality as a place of gathering and learning. The library is not about book storage, but rather a place shaped in the northern tradition by study circles and library talks to offer alternatives to the prevailing high culture, and official events in our part of Austria. Several library talks have been dedicated to the object of this research.

4.7. The Inner Atelier / Inner Speech

Through the notion of *the inner atelier*, Shelley Sacks describes a realm and imaginal space that everyone carries with them and in which an entire stock of images and forms of the past and present is embedded. In this atelier, which forms the basis of several of her social sculpture practices⁸⁵, a person can look at him/herself, as well as look ahead at the future. The inner atelier can be understood as a workplace for understanding things, events, possibilities that have not yet come to pass. The freedom that opens up when working in the inner atelier is the freedom not to remain what and how we are; the freedom to take hold of one self in order to develop and shape specific human qualities and abilities. It is the freedom to uncoil oneself.

My practice-based research led to the welcome task of recognising and characterising Dag Hammarskjöld's inner atelier: on one hand in his journal *Waymarks*, which records his constant and intensive self-examination and self-testing; on the other hand, through his conception of a special space, the Room of Quiet, installed at UN Headquarters in New York under his direction, designed in cooperation with a major architect and with Hammarskjöld's friend, the Swedish artist, Bo Beskow (1906-1989). Deliberately free of specific cultural or religious references, it is a space for meditation and prayer, the physical manifestation of a universal inner atelier to which every willing person can gratefully relate. Much to the satisfaction of my ass and I, it relies on sensed, felt impressions of this Earth: a dense block of pure iron ore serving as an altar, light falling on it from above, and in Beskow's abstract fresco at the far end, an evocation of ocean, winds, sunlight, free and relaxed movement. There is no politics—or anti-politics—here. It offers an experience of *inter – esse*. A fine statement written by Hammarskjöld for the inauguration of the *Room of Quiet* is available at the entrance:

"We all have within us a center of stillness surrounded by silence.

This house, dedicated to work and debate in the service of peace, should have one room dedicated to silence in the outward sense and stillness in the inner sense.

It has been the aim to create in this small room a place where the doors may be open to the infinite lands of thought and prayer.

People of many faiths will meet here, and for that reason none of the symbols to which we are accustomed in our meditation could be used.

However, there are simple things, which speak to us all with the same language. We have sought for such things and we believe that we have found them in the shaft of light striking the shimmering surface of solid rock.

So, in the middle of the room we see a symbol of how, daily, the light of the skies gives life to the earth on which we stand, a symbol to many of us of how the light of the spirit gives life to matter.

But the stone in the middle of the room has more to tell us. We may see it as an altar, empty not because there is no God, not because it is an altar to an unknown god, but because it is dedicated to the God whom man worships under many names and in many forms.

The stone in the middle of the room reminds us also of the firm and permanent in a world of movement and change. The block of iron ore has the weight and solidity of the everlasting. It is a reminder of that cornerstone of endurance and faith on which all human endeavor must be based.

The material of the stone leads our thoughts to the necessity for choice between destruction and construction, between war and peace. Of iron man has forged his swords, of iron he has also made his ploughshares. Of iron he has constructed tanks, but of iron he has likewise built homes for man. The block of iron ore is part of the wealth we have inherited on this earth of ours. How are we to use it?

The shaft of light strikes the stone in a room of utter simplicity. There are no other symbols, there is nothing to distract our attention or to break in on the stillness within ourselves. When our eyes travel from these symbols to the front wall, they meet a simple pattern opening up the room to the harmony, freedom and balance of space.

There is an ancient saying that the sense of a vessel is not in its shell but in the void. So it is with this room. It is for those who come here to fill the void with what they find in their center of stillness."⁸⁶

As noted earlier in this commentary, the book includes a separate chapter dedicated to the journals of Dag Hammarskjöld and Marcus Aurelius. Their journals are collections of aphorisms, sentences, quotations, formulae, prayers and, for Hammarskjöld, also poems. The Roman Emperor and the UN Secretary-General wrote for themselves from one day to another and did not intend a unified, published work (although late in life Hammarskjöld acknowledged in the pages of his journal that it might someday be published). Their journals remained unbound, loose pages in their lifetimes. They made an effort to write with literary refinement because, as Pierre Hadot (1922-2010) brilliantly put it, the completion of the formulations would ensure their psychological effectiveness and persuasiveness.

In the practise of these remarkable leaders, the inner atelier has a door that opens to the world. As worldly leaders *and* contemplatives, they needed again and again to recollect and rekindle an inner state that was challenged on a daily basis, even disassembled, by the push and pull of outer life. The inner images, the *phantasiai* (in Marcus's Stoic lexicon), are sustained by key ideas, which, if not frequently remembered and resituated in the inner atelier, run the risk of extinguishing. The immensely vital and refined experience of inwardness characteristic of both the emperor and the secretary-general fed a quality of thought and language that allowed them to understand, express and to live global citizenship.

4.8. Mystic Wonderland

Hammarskjöld's trail leads to many great thinkers of the 20th century: Ivan Illich (1926-2002), Martin Buber (1878-1965), Simone Weil (1909-1943), Joseph Beuys (1921-1986), all of whose traces, like Hammarskjöld's, harken back to the Middle Ages—to Meister Eckhart (1260-1328), St. Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556), Hugo of Saint Victor (1097-1141) and others. They lead into the field of mysticism and tap into it as a terrain of active design. Though a mystic, it has to be said that Dag

Hammar skjöld was never distant from the world; the distance he took to return to his inner atelier restored the energies he needed to play his enormous role in the world. Throughout his journal, particularly during the UN years, the presiding genius is Meister Eckhart; he was the teacher of what it means to “have an exalted disposition, a burning disposition in which nevertheless an untroubled silent stillness rules,” as Hammar skjöld transcribed from Eckhart into his journal.⁸⁷

Several excerpts in this part of my book have the nature of a membrane through which something else shines: a passage becomes discernible. These are moments when the writing runs briefly over transparent parchment—or one might say they become miraculous atmospheres, which the Hungarian author Béla Hamvas (1897-1968) evokes in language touched but not overwhelmed by ecstasy:

“When the supernatural breaks up nature from above and within. When the transcendent breaks into the world of necessity. I do not know what happens beyond the border. Something supernatural. Which one cannot understand. The miraculous atmosphere. . . I only see that something shines through necessity, and I can barely stand that. . . But I know that even the higher being that far exceeds mine, the miracle, has its own logic. And if that logic touches me, I’m ecstatic, maybe I sing, or I have a vision, I write a poem, I start to dance in the meadow amongst the quaking grass. Everything is in a state of wonder. The wonder is at once logic and magic, both in a single moment, not to be separated from each other.”⁸⁸

5. Conclusion: An Expanded View of Global Citizenship Education

After entering the field of Social Sculpture, I developed an expanded view of Global Citizenship Education by exploring and adopting Joseph Beuys' vision of art and society as refined in the work of the SSRU. Its key aspects: shaping an inner atelier; working with invisible materials; emphasising the role of imagination; experiencing our own agency and discovering our capacities to change things as responsible agents—all of which constitutes a bridge to Dag Hammarskjöld's wisdom and vice versa. The research embodied in my research-based practice [the book] and this reflective commentary makes new contributions to knowledge in the culturally rich zone bounded by the ideas of Social Sculpture, the lifework of Dag Hammarskjöld, and my longstanding concern for Global Citizenship Education.

To expand on this, the research project breaks new ground in a number of respects:

- By offering a new interpretation of Dag Hammarskjöld's political insights concerning anti-political strategies, we come to understand that the positive shaping of global problems cannot be accomplished exclusively by political means. The research project explores the strategies of diplomacy as developed by Hammarskjöld and illuminates the question of what it means when "dialogue" proves to be ineffective. Hammarskjöld was a diplomat, committed to prudent, circumspect speech. When asked whether he was a political man, he responded: "I want to be active where it matters." Yet across a broad spectrum of political and cultural matters he offered bold insights, which have up to now scarcely been recognised or carefully articulated.
- By bringing the cosmopolitan heritage into the field of Global Citizenship Education. The generation of 1968, still so much part of today's mythology, asserted that "everything is political." My research project demonstrates that this is clearly not so, referencing the rich tradition of cosmopolitan thinking,

which includes figures such as Diogenes (412-323 B.C.) and Erasmus (1466-1536) whose thinking avoids and circumvents politics. The research project further makes clear that Hammarskjöld's (anti-) political wisdom was rooted in the medieval mystics and that he re-evaluated "ideology" as a set of necessary, guiding principles that inform our actions— and also have a significant and substantial relation to education.

- By showing that Hammarskjöld's ideas about the European integration process, as laid out in his 1951 article "Att välja Europa"⁸⁹, contain insights that differ completely from what actually unfolded within the European Community. They were and remain insights of real importance for Global Citizenship Education.
- By unpacking Hammarskjöld's understanding and image of the "higher human being" who moves on from his or her small self to a finer and wiser identity. This is not in the Nietzschean sense but rather in keeping with Kierkegaard and Lao Tzu. I forge a link between Hammarskjöld's idea of the "higher human being" and Beuys' assertion the "every human being is an artist."
- Through my research into Hammarskjöld's journal and the links to Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations*, I have shown the process of journal writing in these visionary thinkers to be at the very centre of their inner ateliers. I have described their writing/thinking process as a kind of "inner speech". Such a life-giving process — so strong in Hammarskjöld and in contemporary Social Sculpture methodologies such as Earth Forum and its "inner atelier"— which could invite citizens to become conscious of their own thoughts and feelings, to become "journal writers," would be a real contribution to Global Citizenship Education! My research in this area also foregrounds previously unrecognised connections between Hammarskjöld and Social Sculpture methodologies.
- I have shown that Hammarskjöld's idea of the future of international communities is nourished by medieval images of the early beginnings of

European universities and student life of the day. This was a time when students, like pilgrims, walked the long distance to Paris, to sit at the feet of Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) and other great teachers, all members of a fraternity in search of truth and animated by a faith in the ultimate purpose of human life. Hammarskjöld's vision of a global society is similarly not founded on citizens' movements or the campaigns of NGOs, nor on the interests of nations or nation-states, but rather on an educative act of creation that lies in the (self-) discipline and self-education of becoming able to complete the divine creation. For Hammarskjöld, research explorations, teaching and genuine encounters that were not constrained and shaped by outer determinants, were the real source of development for international communities.

- I have shown that Hammarskjöld's lifework was a blend of logic and magic, technology and mysticism. He did not leave the magic behind—essentially, the magic of authentic consciousness—in order to deal reasonably with the challenges of the world. Rather, in order to be able to act reasonably, he alternates between mysticism and technology. Through this pendulum-like movement I highlight how he offers a concept and practise of self-education and political behaviour to citizens of the world.
- I have shown that the anchoring of Global Citizenship Education in mystics and pre-modern patterns characterizes Dag Hammarskjöld's thinking. For this reason I present Hammarskjöld's thinking and work poetically, as an exercise in Social Sculpture, rather than programmatically. The idea of world citizenship would be estranged and degenerate if it were to be detached from its original context – the exile – and installed as a global paradigm of development. The poetic way of presenting Hammarskjöld's cosmopolitan wisdom does not have the aim of spreading it widely. Rather it tries to gather and connect it, to pass it on from hand to hand, in a prudent way – without concern for programmatic development.
- I have transposed the notion of Global Citizenship Education from the world of pedagogy by emphasizing elements such as wilderness, animal-like

intelligence and the capability to connect landscape and soul. The path to world citizenship is developed as a passage, like a ford, must be found diligently and paced carefully across. Dag Hammarskjölds diary-notes are not a set of directions for educational programme, but lead rather to a mystical understanding of *the way* as a personal approach of uniting inner and outer world.

A special aspect of this research journey has embraced the poetic mode. At certain points in the book I use poems – to create the right pace, to linger and for something to become clear in my mind.

This is such a moment!

Vägmärken?
Markings?
Zeichen am Weg?

von wegen

Umgeht sie,
die Aufgestellten!

Die Richtung geben,
ziehen die Richtschnur
und schwenken das Richtbeil.

unwaegbar

Vägmärken -
Wegeszeichen!

zeigen sich,
indem man geht.

Stellen sich nicht auf,
stellen sich nicht vor,
schicken nicht dahin,
nicht dorthin –

bilden sich ein
und prägen den Gang
und die Gehenden.

(Hans Göttel)

Vägmärken?
Markings?
waymarks maybe?

no way

avoid
each trodden path,

directions turn to dictators,
beat a path
to the scaffold
unpredictable

"Vägmärken" –
signposts

are formed
by our footsteps
not rising to meet us
not telling the track
not pointing this way or that

rather discovered -
revealed as we forge
our own route

(Hans Göttel, translated by David Rayner)

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A Poetic Pilgrimage Towards a Cosmopolitan World

Part II

A summary of the book entitled:

„Dag Hammarskjöld für kosmopolitische Passagen“

(Hans Göttel, Eisenstadt, Austria: Verlag Akademie Pannonien, 2016)

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This book summary accompanies
the 100% practice-based research.
It is submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements of the award of
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Summary of the book

"Dag Hammarskjöld für kosmopolitische Passagen"

(Hans Göttel, Eisenstadt, Austria: Verlag Akademie Pannonien, 2016)

This book is the outcome of my doctoral explorations into certain connections between work of Dag Hammarskjöld (1905-1961) and his anti-political cosmopolitanism and a stream of aesthetic ideas that flow from Schiller (1759-1805) through the work of Joseph Beuys (1921-1986) and into the stream of contemporary social sculpture and connective practice that has been developed by Shelley Sacks through the Social Sculpture Research Unit in Oxford. As the insights of the outcome are in the language it was a big dilemma whether to try to translate it or not. Too much had gone lost, so I didn't.

The book offers a new "poetic" way of entering the thought and actions of Dag Hammarskjöld, the Swedish diplomat who was appointed UN General Secretary in 1953 based on a misconception shared by the superpowers that he was a colourless bureaucrat. It soon became clear that far from being colourless or apolitical, the new UN General Secretary was in fact colourfully anti-political. He did act politically, but not in the usual way of politicians, who represent their own interests and in doing so trample on so many things – things which seek to develop, but cannot, simply because – *inter esse* – they exist among us without manifesting themselves as interests. When asked whether he regarded himself as a political person – it seems that there were doubts about it – Hammarskjöld answered that he wanted to be active wherever it mattered; and, in a lecture at the University of Ohio in February 1958, this was, in his own words, not politics, but: "It is diplomacy, not speeches and votes, that continue to have the last word in the process of peace-making."¹

To forever be seeking greater advances in the sphere of anti-politics is a common tendency among central European intellectuals. Highly regarded writers and

philosophers such as György Konrad (born in 1933), Béla Hamvas (1897-1968) and Sandor Márai (1900-1989), all referred to in the book, confirm this. Being both the book's author and Director of the "Akademie Pannonien" for adult cultural, civic and philosophical education in Eisenstadt, Austria, I have attempted to explore this civic impulse in both Hammarskjöld's thinking as well as in wider ideas of world citizenship. The appearance of the first world citizen, Diogenes of Sinope (412-323 B.C.) doubted whether world-citizenship (cosmopolitanism) could offer a comprehensive way to (anti-) politics. As we know – and our daily experience confirms it – Diogenes' efforts to find an honest man in the Polis, whether in broad daylight or equipped with a lantern, were all in vain.

Hammarskjöld's „Quiet Diplomacy,“ as he described his method, whatever doubts there might have been about him, met with much success. In January 1955 his journey to China (then totally isolated), to negotiate the release of US American pilots with the Chinese Head of Government, Chou En Lai (1898 -1976), at first caused a sensation, but then drew admiration, as the pilots were actually released as a personal gift to Hammarskjöld on his 50th birthday (29 July 1955). In the course of his involvement in resolving the Suez Crisis in 1956, Hammarskjöld created the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), the Blue Helmets, from soldiers of neutral states. This demonstrated that a military unit led by the UN could serve the interests of all humankind, not merely narrow national interests. When the Hungarian uprising, which started at the same time as the Suez Crisis in 1956, was suppressed by the Soviet troops, Hammarskjöld had to abandon the people of Budapest who hoped that UN troops would intervene, to their fate. The Hungarian author György Dalos describes this in his epilogue. However, over and over again when tricky problems were referred to the United Nations the view was: "Leave it to Dag". The book highlights how Hammarskjöld recognised emerging opportunities and gradually established the United Nations as an independent actor on the world political stage.

Hammarskjöld as UN-Secretary General became an important protagonist in world affairs and a role model for the "international civil servant", whom he regarded as a decisive agent in the making of international communities, and declared this in his last public speech on 31 May 1961, at the University of Oxford. Hammarskjöld's view was that the international civil servant should serve the United Nations

exclusively, regardless of national or traditional heritage. The role in fact demands real sacrifice: complete dedication and a form of service that has nothing to do with favours for one's government or any other specific interest groups.

Hammar skjöld died in a plane crash on the 18th September 1961. Foul play was immediately suspected, but nothing was confirmed. Further suspicions led the United Nations to take up the case again in 2013. As we can see from his diary, Hammar skjöld had sensed that the super powers would not accept a role as extras on the stage of world affairs and that this would, no doubt, effect how they related to him and therefore he would have to accept his fate.

After outlining the work of Hammar skjöld and the tensions in the global political context, the book then leads us to places where Hammar skjöld's creative work was done, the crises of world politics during the time of the Cold War, and to the sources, stretching back 1000 years, which nourished his intellectual work. Spiritually at home with the medieval mystics, Hammar skjöld adopted his image of the international community from the Middle Ages. This was a time when students and teachers started to regard themselves as citizens of the world, even though the surrounding conflicts among cities, states and peoples of Europe testify rather to extreme disunity. To Hammar skjöld this image seemed as appropriate to his own time, and to offer a model for the shaping of world citizens.

Hammar skjöld's vision of a global society was not founded on citizens or NGOs and their interests, but on a formative act of creation that lies in the (self-) discipline of becoming similar to God and thus becoming able to complete the divine creation. Hammar skjöld therefore begins to shape international communities on the medieval pattern common in the foundational era of European universities, and of student life. For him, unlimited research, teaching and international encounters were central to the development of international communities.

The book in its presentation of Hammar skjöld's life and work, offers no new facts. Nothing is uncovered or revealed. Rather it offers in-between-worlds where apparently self-evident facts and contexts are deconstructed; by delving into the archives of knowledge, the settled is disturbed, layers of semantic dust are stirred

up, which then re-settle as new patterns. The transformation of facts into perspectives is enabled, in part, by the splitting of words such as *imagi-nation*. Through this etymological approach more ancient meanings can be reinstated. Deeper layers - where non-visible materials, linguistic and spiritual qualities are stored – are accessed and used to liberate the word from wordiness. While words (in the German sense of *Wörter*) can be used for everyday things, words (in the German sense of *Worte*) are fundamental for change. They are places where cosmopolitan interchange can happen. Without 'de-wording' (*Entwörterung*), there is no responsibility (*Verantwortung*). This is embodied in a poem by the author (Book, p.38):

Die Verantwortung, die wir tragen,
in der Antwort, die wir geben,
ist gehaucht,
in ein Wort.

Die Entwörterung, die wir vertragen
mit Antwortern, vergeblich,
macht aus dem Hauch Gebrauch,
die warme Luft,
in einem fort.

The responsibility we carry
in the response we give
is expressed
in a word.

The travesty we tolerate
in wordiness,
turns expression to convention
(empty air)
going on and on.

(Hans Göttel; David Rayner)

And so, even though much is said about Hammarskjöld's life, this book is no biography. Neither is it a history of the United Nations. It is rather a lyrical journey into the work of Dag Hammarskjöld, whose content is reflected in the structure of the book. The spaces between the paragraphs create space for individual thoughts, which can be stimulated without the need to have read the previous or following passage. One can begin reading almost anywhere. To read the book from beginning to end is only one of many possibilities. Although it does demand analytical engagement, the book is in itself an artistic praxis. This is quite different from an artistic action or an installation. It also differs from a text for the stage, although it *is* the stage for an artistic praxis – that is simultaneously a poetic pilgrimage. Poems, speculations embedded in facts, insights, judgements, and reflections – all give rise to a powerful, yet sparing poetry that chimes with Hammarskjöld's life and helps us approach his oeuvre.

A key figure throughout the book is an ass. To conduct research under the supervision of an ass does not mean to renounce everything scientific. On the contrary, it enables the author to extend logic and reason – with the resources of an ass. In so doing, the author is able to promote the liberation and enhancement of meaning, in contrast to the conventional approach of meaning-fixing. Being in the company of an ass allows one to enter in-between-worlds, the domain of angels. This in turn leads to an experience of poetic thinking and of open-ended exploration. Differing from logical, analytical exactitude, precise attention to detail is part of the inner life, which is not accessible through laborious proofs or authoritative definitions. Historiography, depends on precise measures of evidence which can be found. Although this might be useful for those writing histories, writing narratives, which follow a trail, is the domain of poets. For this, according to Cornelius Agrippa (1486 - 1535), it is necessary to choose the companionship of an ass: "...if you do not turn to an ass, you will never be able to internalize the secrets of the Divine."² And with respect to cosmopolitan interchange, August von Kotzebue (1761-1819) says: "there are few world citizens as useful as an ass."³ Thus in this artistic practice, the ass becomes the narrator, the guide for the researcher and the conductor for the reader, as he makes space for reflection between each chapter of the book. The

passages where the ass speaks, are illustrated by the Austrian cartoonist Klaus Pitter.

And so the ass and the researcher go on field trips into Hammarskjöld's creative world, to develop a model of self-formation, to understand cosmopolitan interchange and to uncover the route to world citizenship. On the way, they engage with the idea of a world government, where they encounter, amongst other things, the correspondence between Hammarskjöld and Albert Einstein. Even more than Hammarskjöld, Einstein wanted to see not only how some kind of humane world could be shaped, but an actual world government. Together they enter the mechanisms of the international system only to find that there is hardly any space for international communities. Throughout the world, there are states and nations with no sense of humour. All in all they are forced to acknowledge that nothing is really progressing in the world because of its worldliness. Only in-between-worlds and guardian angels help them to continue.

Hammarskjöld's diary leads them into the wilderness, where beauty is a *note that sets the heartstrings quivering as it flows by*. When they come to Uppsala they find Hammarskjöld's heroes, such as the Archbishop, Nobel laureate and pioneer of ecumenical work, Nathan Söderblom (1866-1931) and the poet Bertil Ekman (1894 to 1920), whose turbulent life showed Hammarskjöld the way to *places above the treeline* and into the fields of mysticism and whose diary *Strödda blad*⁴ (*scattered sheets*) was a model for Hammarskjöld's *Markings / Waymarks*.⁵ They pursue the idea of "Higher Human Being" or more-than-human, and eventually no longer fear it.

As Hammarskjöld is also known as the Marcus Aurelius of the 20th century, it seemed fitting to compare the thoughts of the Roman Emperor of the 2nd century with the thoughts of the General Secretary of the United Nations of the 20th century. This 'field trip' finds that their thoughts are quite similar. The ass and the researcher then track the dialogue between Hammarskjöld and Martin Buber (1878-1965) about the (im)possibility of dialogue in the politicized world. Finally, they explore how humanity might find a way forward and what role the stars might play.

The Field Trips can be read as an essay in itself. However, the reader must be prepared for fissures, twists and ambiguities. They are on a kind of manhunt, not for the perpetrator, but for the inevitable victim. Here and there poems can be found. These are like fortresses on conquered ground, like a lookout which will not be surrendered and from which it is possible to make out what is coming without revealing oneself.

When in the year 1968 student protests arose worldwide against the prevailing conditions and everything was unequivocally declared a political matter, Hammarskjöld was already dead. He was not a “waymark” for campaigners for peace, for the Third World, for the environment or for the climate crisis. In the midst of politics, and surrounded by politicians on the world stage, Hammarskjöld would never have assented to the now widespread notion that everything is political. Hammarskjöld’s cosmopolitan thinking was not the wisdom to “mark the way” for the political struggles of the 1968 generation. In fact, it was a stone in their way. The book seeks to stimulate renewed interest in Hammarskjöld’s expertise in order to illustrate how we might realize the potential that lies within us.

In the second afterword, which can also be read as a foreword, the author offers a glimpse into his atelier, the domain of a librarian who prepares the ground for a text by searching and collecting. Idiosyncratic digressions stay firmly anchored within documented knowledge. In the adventure of writing he not only submits to the authority of an ass but also to the atelier of Social Sculpture. The research underlying this book is undertaken in partnership with the Social Sculpture Research Unit at Oxford Brookes University, under the tender care of the action artist and thinker, Shelley Sacks, the philosopher Wolfgang Imdick and, until 2014, the cultural scientist Hildegard Kurt. In this research atelier breathes the spirit of the German action artist Joseph Beuys (1921-1986). Both Beuys and Hammarskjöld work to enable humans to become the creators, of their lives. By so doing they could liberate the potential within them enabling them to shape the necessary social structures like a sculpture: “Creation — that is, to succeed in building something new, something built on human values which exist everywhere and which can always be saved if we have the courage to do so and to rid ourselves of our bonds.”⁶

For this new poetic journey into the material on Hammarskjöld, the author has consulted available literature about Hammarskjöld in German, English and Swedish, and draws inspiration from intellectual interchange with renowned researchers who come to the international conferences in his Pannonian Academy. As Director of Studies at this cosmopolitan site of open learning, in Eisenstadt, in the Austrian province of Burgenland, he finds a fruitful context for questioning why the concept and practice of world citizenship bears little fruit today, even though globalisation is omnipresent and in the words of Victor Hugo (1802-1885): “An invasion of armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come.”⁷ Environmental and development questions are part of the political field in Austria, but there are seldom any connections to the question of global, world citizenship. The book targets this deficit, whilst remaining wary of recipes for a solution. It rejects the conventional pedagogics of industrialisation by way of reference to an old Latin aphorism: „Corruptio optimi pessima est.“ This was cited by Ivan Illich, the Austro-American theologian and philosopher (1926-2002) and in the 18th century, by advocate of the Enlightenment, Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786). They both attempted to highlight how industrial methods of relating to things bring about their estrangement, and the better a thing is by nature, the worse will be its corruption. Shakespeare put it like this: „For sweetest things turn sourest by their deeds / lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds.“⁸

That is why Hammarskjöld’s thinking and work is presented here in a poetic way, and not programmatically. The idea of world citizenship would be estranged and debased if it were to depart from its original context – namely exile – to be set up as a global paradigm of development. This has happened in the perversion of belief through the church and the perversion of *Bildung* (education/formation) through school. This book is a place where Dag Hammarskjöld’s cosmopolitan wisdom is given shelter. Not for it to be scattered abroad, but for it to be gathered and bound, so that it can be handed on thoughtfully, from reader to reader.

Endnotes Part II

1 Andrew W. Cordier and Wilder Foote, ed. *Public Papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations*. Vol. 4, *Dag Hammarskjöld 1958-1960*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1974, p. 26

2 Ordine Nuccio: Giordano Bruno und die Philosophie des Esels. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1999, p. 9-10.

3 August von Kotzebues ausgewählte prosaische Schriften. Enthaltend: Die Romane, Erzählungen, Anekdoten und Miszellen. Wien: Verlag Ignaz Klang, 1834. 34. Band, p. 143.

4 Ekman, Bertil: Strödda blad ur Bertil Ekmans efterlämnade papper (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1964

5 Erling, Bernhard: A Reader's Guide to Dag Hammarskjöld's Waymarks. St. Peter, Minnesota, 1999

6 Hammarskjöld, Dag: Statement at Dinner Given by the Vice-Premier of the Republic of the Congo, Antoine Gizenga, Leopoldville July 31, 1960. Andrew W. Cordier and Wilder Foote, ed. *Public Papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations*. Vol. 5, *Dag Hammarskjöld 1960-1961*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1975, p. 51; translated by the UN from Hammarskjöld's French.

7 Victor Hugo, *Histoire d'un crime*, Paris, 1852 (written), 1877 (published)

8 http://nfs.sparknotes.com/sonnets/sonnet_94.html (Sonnet 94).